values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *kawóx*. Each village maintained a set of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was nearly absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazonia" (Almeida Serra 1860:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended me wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres: there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all *pariwat* were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort at Gurupá. Barbi (1845:119) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[8] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

complex societies are a part of the same social system. Therefore, the moral values of in-groups are commonly extended outward to a considerable degree. Moreover, the ethical norms reflected in everyday social interaction are complicated by class differences and other categories of sub-cultural variation. The individual is an actor in many situations, each of which prescribes rather different modes of behavior. He may be the bearer of several standards of ethics, which become manifest according to the particular status and role contexts in which he is acting. Our "real," as opposed to "ideal," values are heterogeneous in the extreme.

The complexity of our ethical values arises from the very complexity of the social structure of which they are an integral part. Beyond the realm of situationally desirable behavior, the general ideal value system, or thematic moral values, in Kluckhohn's terms, shows somewhat more uniformity and internal consistency.[1] But they are frequently in conflict with sentiments, which, while less lofty, are just as strongly value charged.

Since it is more simple, and because it is less ambivalent, the Mundurucú ethic should provide some insight into our own. It varies from our own in degree of intensity of ingroup harmony and outgroup hostility and is perhaps

[1] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: an Exploration in Definition and Classification" in *Towards a General Theory of Action* (Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Cambridge, 1952).

differs in kind, for the central theme makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between *desirable* behavior within Munduruc\u00fa society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

The Munduruc\u00fa first came to the attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapaj\u00f3s River in the state of Para. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Munduruc\u00fa territory. Munduruc\u00fa warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

Munduruc\u00fa warfare represents one side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946).

[illegible]

[illegible] over-aggression [illegible] an element comparable to the *Dionysiac* of Arizona; in this light the culture is Apollonian.

The apparent disparity between these two conceptual desirable conducts towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a main theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the [illegible] hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, doesn't have to show theoretical consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the [illegible].

The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outsiders." In times past, all "outlands" were considered to be enemies as proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or generic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

& ... children were captured from other tribes and raised as Munduruc without prejudice. To adult "outlanders" of either sex, however, the Munduruc gave no quarter; the enemy was summarily dispatched and the head severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Munduruc derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

The establishment of peaceful and symbiotic relations with the whites added a further dimension to the values connected with warfare, which the Munduruc now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Munduruc a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The means used to attain the new ends were traditional. Enemy villages were

[illegible] to stand out far above his fellows. A Munduruc[ú] never boasted of his achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is still difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Munduruc[ú].

The prevailing tone of Munduruc[ú] values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Munduruc[ú] do not make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Munduruc[ú] who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Munduruc[ú] is colored by the same dualism as colored in their warrior period.

The duality of Munduruc[ú] ethics is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive aversion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure. Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

Manly virtues were esteemed in Munduruc[ú] culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

[illegible]

[illegible] gentlemen of the men's house, which also formed a focus for male social participation. Cooperation in the economy was elaborated far beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt religious purposes.

War and humanity were stimulistic in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent: intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male enjoyment was fostered by warfare. Mundurucú society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No commitments were owed to those outside the system; the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Mundurucú to persons outside the system would have effectively violated and devitalized it.

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to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Munduruká society. Before 1830 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Caxi, established in the 1830's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Munduruká, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

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hand, refers to the people living on the Curuá as parintí, or "foreigners," because they live like the Brazilians. However, his feelings toward the Curuá people are not inspired by the fear and alienation felt by the latter. Rather, he is puzzled and chagrined that they remain aloof from him and will not accept him, although they are all Mundurucú.

The split within the tribe occurred only during the past three decades, but it has contributed to a decrease in migration from the remaining savannah villages to the Curuá. People are still leaving the savannahs, but usually to move to the Tapajós or to the lower reaches of the streams on the headwaters of which they live. The ambivalent attitude of the Curuá people makes that river decidedly unattractive to them.

CHRONOLOGY

For purposes of greater clarity, the history of the contact between the Mundurucú and the whites can be conveniently divided into four distinct periods. These are based on significant changes in the structure of Brazilian-Mundurucú relations.

1770–1795.—During this period, the warlike Mundurucú came into contact with the Portuguese colonists and directed attacks against them in the region along the Amazon River between Gurupá, on the east, and the lower Madeira River, on the west. The first Mundurucú settling of the latter area took place during these years and was probably motivated by the desire to obtain trade goods. In 1795, a punitive expedition against the villages of the east side of the upper Tapajós River, the original Mundurucú territory, ended hostilities.

1795–1830.—The Mundurucú, at peace with the whites,

12:Murphy E-9 (1951-1953) 1963
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THE LOCAL GROUP

that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah. Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a *pariwat*, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the men's house, or *oba*. The former have rectangular ground-plans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauari* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans, structures of 80 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of twenty to thirty years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities, except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutú or Tropas rivers; the former